LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

CLARK E. CARR

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

Clark E. Carr
the author.

By Hon. Clark E. Carr

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LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

An Address

BY

CLARK E. CARR
AUTHOR OF "THE ILLINI"

ILLUSTRATED

FOURTH EDITION
REVISED AND WITH NEW MATERIAL

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Portrait of Abraham Lincoln *Frontispiece*

Portrait of General Robert E. Lee . 6

Portrait of Governor Andrew G. Curtin 10

Map of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Gettysburg . . 16

Portrait of John Hay . . . 26

The National Monument at Gettysburg Cemetery . . . 34

Portrait of Edward Everett . . 40

Portrait of General George G. Meade 46

Portrait of William H. Seward . 62

Portrait of John G. Nicolay . . 74

Facsimile of the Manuscript written for the Baltimore Fair . . 104

24212

A Word

THE essential features of this work were brought out by me in an address delivered January 25, 1906, before the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield, in the State Capitol. The address attracted considerable attention and I have been frequently called upon to repeat it. So much interest has been manifested in it that I have been constrained to revise it and to enlarge its scope beyond the limits of an ordinary address, and thus publish it in book form.

The members of the Commission who had charge of the Gettysburg National Cemetery when the consecration ceremonies were held, had all, at that time, except myself, either entered

upon or passed middle life, while I was but twenty-seven years old, and I now know of no other survivor than myself. If, after the lapse of nearly half a century, there be another, I shall be glad to hear from him, in the hope that he may be able to add his recollections of the interesting event to my own. *C. E. C.*

GALESBURG, ILL.,
June 30, 1906.

NOTE:—Since the First and Second Editions of this work were published, I have been delighted to find another survivor of the original Commissioners in the person of Mr. W. Yates Selleck, who represented Wisconsin on the Board. Mr. Selleck removed several years ago to Philadelphia, where in health and vigor and in full possession of all his faculties he still resides, and where I recently have had the pleasure of visiting him. It was a great satisfaction for us to meet and talk over events in which so long ago we took part. Neither Mr. Selleck nor I know of another survivor. *C. E. C.*

GALESBURG, ILLS.,
May 20, 1907.

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

His Address

FOUR score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war.

We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little

note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us,—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion,—that we here highly resolve that the

dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that governments of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

THE BATTLE

THE battle of Gettysburg was fought on the first, second, and third of July, 1863.

The Confederate army, under the command of General Robert E. Lee, elated with success, had entered Pennsylvania, menacing Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. Even New York was threatened, for, had the advance of Lee not been checked, the great metropolis would have been at his mercy, and there can be little doubt but that the Southern rebellion would have been successful.

Under these circumstances, with the invading hordes upon them, the consternation and terror of the loyal people of Pennsylvania can be better imagined than described. That this invasion of the North was not successful is due to the heroism and fortitude of the Union soldiers, who, under the command of General George G. Meade, met the invader in mortal combat, and, after three days of desperate fighting, in which many thousands were killed and a vast number wounded, hurled him back across the border, never to return.

ILLINOIS OPENED THE BATTLE

It is not generally known

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

that Illinois soldiers were the first to meet the onset of the enemy and fired the first shot in the great battle. This is the fact, brought out clearly by Colonel William Gamble, of the Eighth Illinois cavalry, in a letter to the Honorable William L. Church and myself, March 10, 1864, the truth of which, so far as I know, has not been questioned. This regiment belonged to Buford's cavalry division, and fired the first shot in meeting and checking the advance of the Confederates under General A. P. Hill. This shot precipitated and brought on the three days' conflict which turned the tide of war.

THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

Scarcely had the reverberations of the guns of the battle died away when the Honorable David Wills, a citizen of Gettysburg, wrote to the Honorable Andrew G. Curtin, the great war Governor of Pennsylvania, suggesting that a plat of ground in the midst of the battlefield be at once purchased and set apart as a soldiers' naional cemetery, and that the remains of the dead be exhumed and placed in this cemetery. He suggested that the ground to be selected should be on what was known as Cemetery Hill, so called because adjoining it is the local cemetery of Gettysburg.

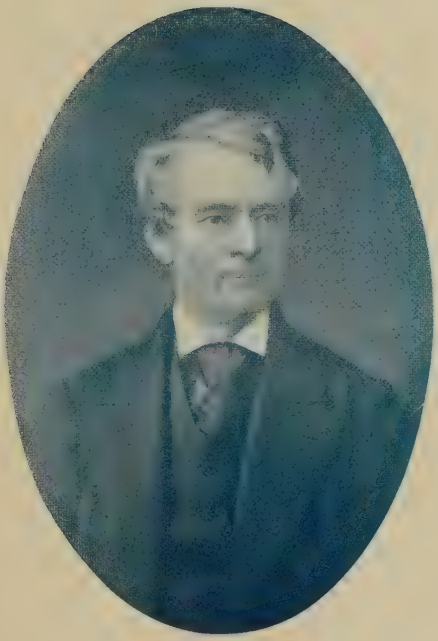
WHY CEMETERY HILL WAS SELECTED

As a reason why that ground should be chosen, Mr. Wills said: "It is the place where our army had about forty pieces of artillery in action all Thursday and Friday, and for their protection had thrown up a large number of earthworks. It is the point where the desperate attack was made by the Louisiana brigades on Thursday evening, when taking possession of them, and were finally driven back by the infantry, assisted by the artillerymen with their handspikes and rammers. It was the key to the whole line of defences, the spot of the

triangular line of battle. It is the spot above all others for the honorable burial of the dead who have fallen on these fields."

Governor Curtin at once approved of the recommendation of Mr. Wills, and correspondence was opened with the governors of the loyal States whose troops had engaged in the battle, asking them to cooperate in the movement. The grounds proposed by Mr. Wills, seventeen acres, which embraced the highest point of Cemetery Hill, and overlooked the whole battlefield, were at once purchased.

The governors of fifteen of the



GOVERNOR ANDREW G. CURTIN

States immediately responded, foremost among whom was Illinois's great war Governor, known and recognized everywhere as "the soldiers' friend," Richard Yates.

THE CEMETERY INCORPORATED

The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act incorporating "The Soldiers' National Cemetery," naming one trustee for each State coöperating, who was suggested by its Governor. I was named for Illinois.

When the first meeting was held, supposing that each State would have two on the board, the Governor appointed the Honorable William L. Church,

of Chicago, then clerk of the Circuit Court and recorder of Cook county, and myself, and together we attended the first meeting, after which I alone represented Illinois on the board. When Governor Yates retired from the executive office, I was reappointed by Governor Oglesby. The board was organized by the election of Mr. David Wills of Gettysburg—who had initiated the movement—president, and Mr. John R. Bartlett, Secretary of the State of Rhode Island, also one of our commissioners, secretary.

FIRST NATIONAL CEMETERY

It must be remembered that when this board was establish-

ed the general Government had not entered upon, nor even considered, the policy of establishing soldiers' national cemeteries. This came afterwards, and I think that the suggestion of such a policy came from the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg. Our board continued in charge there until the Government system was inaugurated. We then turned the cemetery over to the general Government, which, having a fund for that purpose, has since cared for it. As is the case with the other national cemeteries, representatives of the Federal government are kept there in charge.

The appropriations given us by the different States amounted in the aggregate to nearly a hundred and forty thousand dollars, Illinois contributing, notwithstanding the small number of our dead buried there,—only six,—$11,774.84. Illinois had but three regiments in the battle, the Eighth and Twelfth cavalry and the Eighty-second infantry.

The first action necessary, after the movement to inaugurate a national cemetery had been determined upon and the ground purchased, was to lay out a plat for graves, and to take up and remove the remains of the dead, which were

scattered over a radius of many miles. The dead had been hastily buried in the fields where they had fallen, and bodies were frequently found with scarcely any covering.

THE CEMETERY LAID OUT

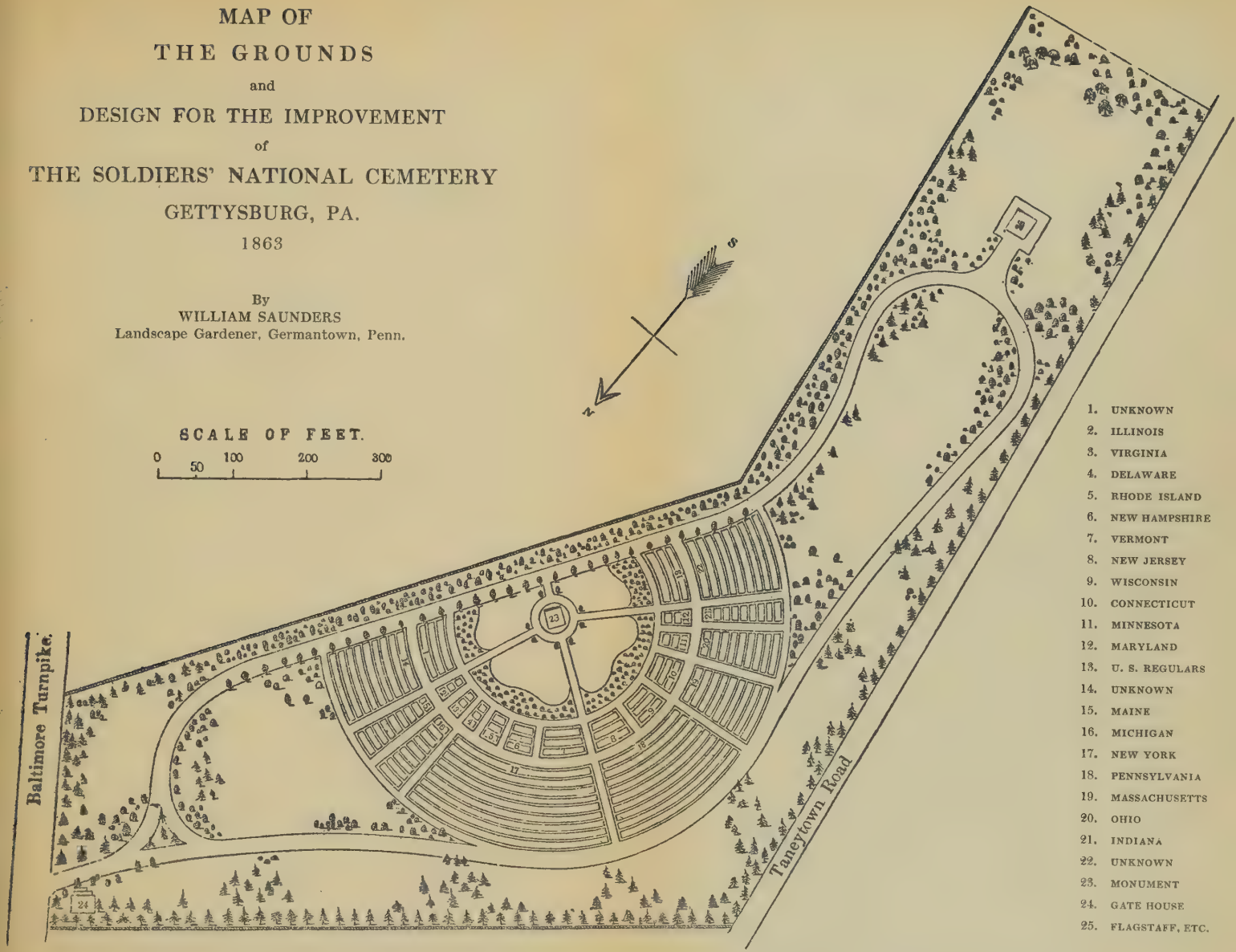
The cemetery was laid out in the form of a half-circle, the centre of which was reserved for the imposing monument which has since been reared, from which the half-circles of the graves radiate, the inner half-circle, of course, being very small, and the half-circles increasing in length and capacity as they extended. On this inner semicircle — that nearest

the monument—I was able to have placed the Illinois section, which, of course, is very small. On one side of our Illinois section is a large one, containing the graves of the unknown, and on the other that of the State of Virginia. It was upon the ground in the centre reserved for the monument that the platform from which the addresses were delivered was placed. This platform fronted away from the cemetery proper, giving room for the vast audience of people in front of and facing it, to be near to, but not upon, the graves.

At the head of every grave was placed a headstone of gran-

MAP OF
THE GROUNDS
and
DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
of
THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY
GETTYSBURG, PA.
1863

By
WILLIAM SAUNDERS
Landscape Gardener, Germantown, Penn.



FROM THE BOOK ISSUED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1874.

ite, rising nine inches above the ground, upon which was sculptured the name, company, and regiment of each soldier, so far as could be ascertained, while those who could not be identified were marked, "unknown." Of the known there were 2,585, and of the unknown 979, making in the aggregate 3,564. Large as this number is, it does not nearly represent the number of fatalities among the Union soldiers. Many of the wounded died in the hospitals and elsewhere, and the remains of quite a large number had been removed from the field by relatives and friends and taken to their respective homes.

DEDICATORY EXERCISES PROPOSED

It was proposed, as the work proceeded, that memorial dedicatory exercises be held to consecrate this sacred ground, which was finally determined upon. The day first fixed upon for these exercises was the twenty-third of October, 1863.

EDWARD EVERETT INVITED TO DELIVER THE ORATION

The Honorable Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, was then regarded as the greatest living American orator, and it was decided to invite him to deliver the oration; and this was done. But he replied that it was wholly out of his power to make the

necessary preparation by the twenty-third of October. So desirous were we all to have Mr. Everett, that the dedication was postponed to Thursday, the nineteenth of November, 1863, — nearly a month, — to suit Mr. Everett's convenience. The dedication took place on that day.

INVITATIONS SENT TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND OTHERS

A formal invitation to be present was sent to the President of the United States and his cabinet, to Major General George G. Meade, who commanded our troops in the battle of Gettysburg, and to the officers and soldiers who had participated in, and gained, the

memorable victory. Invitations were also sent to the venerable Lieutenant General Winfield Scott and to Admiral Charles Stewart, the distinguished and time honored representatives of the army and navy, to the diplomatic corps, representing foreign governments, to the members of both Houses of Congress, and to other distinguished personages.

All these invitations and all arrangements for the dedicatory exercises — as was the case with everything relating to the cemetery — were considered and decided upon by our board of Commissioners, and were, in so far as he was able, under the

direction of the board, carried into effect by Mr. Wills, our president. As we were all representing and speaking for the governors of our respective States, by whom we were appointed, we made all the invitations in their names.

ASKING LINCOLN TO SPEAK WAS AN AFTERTHOUGHT

The proposition to ask Mr. Lincoln *to speak* at the Gettysburg ceremonies was an afterthought. The President of the United States had, like the other distinguished personages, been invited to be present, but Mr. Lincoln was not, at that time, invited to speak. In fact, it did not seem to occur to any

one that he could speak upon such an occasion.

Scarcely any member of the board, excepting the member representing Illinois, had ever heard him speak at all, and no other member had ever heard, or read from him, anything except political discussion. When the suggestion was made that he be invited to speak, while all expressed high appreciation of his great abilities as a political speaker, as shown in his debates with Senator Douglas, and in his Cooper Institute address, the question was raised as to his ability to speak upon such a grave and solemn occasion as that of the memorial

services. Besides, it was said that, with his important duties and responsibilities, he could not possibly have the leisure to prepare an address for such an occasion. In answer to this it was urged that he himself, better than any one else, could determine as to these questions, and that, if he were invited to speak, he was sure to do what, under the circumstances, would be right and proper.

It must be remembered that Mr. Lincoln had not then proved to the world his ability to speak upon such an occasion. He had not yet made a Gettysburg address, and he had not then made that other great address,

which for sublimity and pathos, ranks next to it, his second inaugural.

LINCOLN NOT INVITED TO SPEAK UNTIL SIX WEEKS AFTER MR. EVERETT

It was finally decided to ask President Lincoln "after the oration" (that is to say, after Mr. Everett's oration), as chief executive of the nation, "to set apart formally these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks." This was done, in the name of the governors of the States, as was the case with others, by Mr. Wills; but the invitation was not settled upon and sent to Mr. Lincoln until the second of November, more

than six weeks after Mr. Everett had been invited to speak, and but a little more than two weeks before the exercises were held.

The President arrived at Gettysburg upon a special train about dusk on the evening before the exercises, November 18, accompanied by Secretary Seward and other distinguished personages, including those two Illinois boys who afterwards became distinguished—John G. Nicolay, his private secretary, and his assistant private secretary, John Hay. He was driven at once to the residence of Mr. Wills, where he was entertained during his stay in the town.

We all, headed by a brass band, marched to Mr. Wills's house and serenaded Mr. Lincoln, who appeared upon the veranda, but said little more than to excuse himself from speaking. After this we serenaded Secretary Seward, who made quite an extended address, and afterwards we serenaded others, who also spoke.

WHEN AND WHERE LINCOLN PREPARED THE ADDRESS

As to the time and manner of preparation of President Lincoln's address, I think that the best authority is that of Mr. Nicolay, who published an article on "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," which I find in a

JOHN HAY

bound volume of "The Century Magazine," running from November, 1893, to April, 1894.

After saying that there is no decisive record of when Mr. Lincoln wrote the first sentences of his proposed address, Mr. Nicolay speaks of Mr. Lincoln's usual custom of "using great deliberation in arranging his thoughts and moulding his phrases, mentally, waiting to reduce them to writing until they had taken satisfactory form."

THE ADDRESS NOT INTENDED TO BE LONG

There was greater necessity of precaution in this case, because the invitation specified

that the address should only be "a few appropriate remarks." After saying that "brevity in speech and writing was one of Lincoln's marked characteristics," and that "Mr. Everett would be quite certain to make a long address," and after speaking of "the want of opportunity for Mr. Lincoln even to think leisurely," Mr. Nicolay concludes the remark by saying: "All this strongly confirms the correctness of the statement made by the Honorable James Speed, in an interview published in the 'Louisville Commercial,' in November, 1870, that the President told him that the day before he left Washington he

found time to write about half of the speech."

PREPARATION OF THE ADDRESS COMPLETED

Mr. Nicolay continues as follows: "It was after the breakfast hour, on the morning of the nineteenth (the day the address was delivered), that the writer, Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, went to the upper room in the home of Mr. Wills, which Mr. Lincoln occupied, to report for duty, and remained with the President while he finished writing the Gettysburg address, during the short leisure he could utilize for this purpose before being called to take his place in the procession, which

was announced on the programme to move at ten o'clock.

"There is neither record evidence nor well founded tradition," Mr. Nicolay continues, "that Mr. Lincoln did any writing or made any notes on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg. The train consisted of four passenger coaches, and either composition or writing would have been extremely troublesome amid the movement, the noise, the conversation, the greetings and the questionings which ordinary courtesy required him to undergo in these surroundings; but, still worse would have been the rockings and joltings of

the train, rendering writing virtually impossible. Mr. Lincoln carried in his pocket the autograph manuscript of so much of his address as he had written at Washington the day before."

THREE VERSIONS OF THE ADDRESS

Mr. Nicolay's article contains a facsimile reproduction of the address, which, as he declares, he then "for the first time made public and printed in this article, one page of which is written in ink in the President's strong, clear hand, without blot or erasure, and the remaining pages written with a pencil. The latter were no

doubt written at Gettysburg."

Mr. Nicolay says that there are three versions of authority for Lincoln's Gettysburg address:

First—The original autograph manuscript draft, written by Mr. Lincoln, partly at Washington and partly at Gettysburg.

This is the version to which reference is made above.

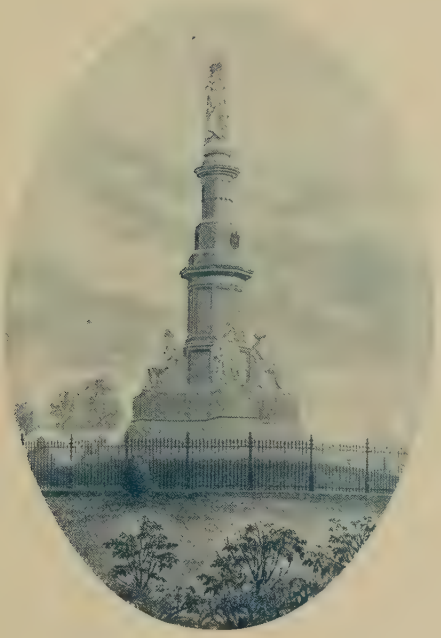
Second—The version made by the shorthand reporter on the stand at Gettysburg, when the President delivered it, which was telegraphed and was printed in the leading newspapers of the country on the following morning.

Third — The revised copy made by the President a few days after his return to Washington, upon a careful comparison of his original draft, and the printed newspaper version, with his own recollections of the exact form in which he delivered it.

AUTHENTIC TEXT OF THE ADDRESS

Mr. Nicolay says that "four days after Mr. Lincoln's return to Washington," Mr. Wills, president of our board of Commissioners, wrote him "on behalf of the States interested in the National Cemetery here," requesting "the original manuscript of the dedicatory remarks

delivered by you here last Monday,—we desire them to be placed with the correspondence and other papers connected with the project"; and that, to comply with this request, the President, after comparing the "Associated Press report as it appeared in the newspapers with his original draft," made a new autograph copy — a careful and deliberate revision — which has become the standard and authentic text. It will be observed that four days after he spoke at Gettysburg Mr. Wills designated the production as merely "dedicatory remarks." I have in my possession a book published by the



THE NATIONAL MONUMENT AT
GETTYSBURG CEMETERY

secretary of our board of Commissioners, under the direction and at the expense of the board, entitled "The Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg," which contains the address made from that copy. It does not differ from those generally published.

CROWDS COME TO THE DEDICATION

New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburg, and all the towns and country round about were represented at the dedicatory exercises.

It was estimated that there were a hundred thousand people who attended. The crowds began to arrive two days before the exercises were held. I went

over from Harrisburg on the day before and rode from there in a box freight car, which was seated with rough boards for the occasion. I think that most of the passengers had similar accommodation, as the passenger coaches could not begin to carry the people who attended. The town, which then had a population of about two thousand, did not begin to be able to take care of the people, many of whom sat up all night. Fortunately for us, Mr. Wills had reserved quarters for the members of our board at the hotel.

THE PROCESSION

It was expected that there would be a great number in a

procession to follow the President's party to the grounds, in which we were disappointed, as most of the people chose to go out by themselves over the battlefield and through the cemetery.

At about ten o'clock in the morning President Lincoln appeared at the door of Mr. Wills's house. Horses had been provided for him and his party, and for some other distinguished personages, and for the members of the board of Commissioners. The procession was delayed for some time by people pressing forward to shake hands with the President after he was mounted upon his horse, which

continued until stopped by the marshals.

Following those already mentioned came civic and military organizations on foot, and finally the people at large. One of the most interesting features of the procession was a large company of veteran soldiers who had been wounded in the battle.

The procession was under the direction of Hon. Ward H. Lamon, marshal of the day.

THE PRESIDENT AS HE APPEARED ON THE MARCH

President Lincoln, as we moved slowly forward, sat at first erect upon his horse, handling the reins of the bridle in

the white gauntlet gloves he wore, in such a stately and dignified manner as to make him appear the Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, which he was. Before he reached the grounds he was bent forward, his arms swinging, his body limp, and his whole frame swaying from side to side. He had become so absorbed in thought that he took little heed of his surroundings and was riding just as he did over the circuit in Illinois, during the years of his early practice of law, with his saddle bags, which contained all of his possessions, dangling upon each side of his horse.

Seats were reserved on the platform for the President, the board of Commissioners, and the invited guests.

I have no recollection of when Mr. Everett reached Gettysburg nor of how he got out to the grounds, but I distinctly remember that we waited for him a half-hour before the exercises commenced, during which the bands of music played airs that were solemn and impressive.

THE OPENING EXERCISES

The exercises were opened with an invocation by the Rev. Dr. Stockton, who was, I think, then chaplain of the United States Senate. Letters of regret

HON. EDWARD EVERETT

were read from General George G. Meade, who commanded our troops in the great battle and who was still in command of the army at the front; from the venerable General Winfield Scott, and others; after which Mr. Everett was introduced and began his oration.

MR. EVERETT'S ORATION

Volumes have been written upon Mr. Everett's address, many of them in a vein of unfriendly criticism, especially contrasting his long and studied speech with the short and pungent sentences of Mr. Lincoln.

Every just and fair person who intelligently reads that oration must rise from its pe-

rusal with a feeling that few efforts of ancient or modern times, in splendors of metaphor, classical lore, elegance of diction, lofty sentiments, and clear and logical reasoning, surpass it. He drew inspiration from the orators of Greece, at the fountain of whose eloquence he had drunk, being able to read their productions in the language through whose matchless purity and elegance and strength they had been given to the world.

DESCRIBES A CEMETERY PREPARED FOR GRECIAN HEROES

He took us at the outset to the wonderful Ceramicus in a

most beautiful suburb of Athens, "adorned by Cimon the son of Miltiades, with walks and fountains and columns, whose groves were filled with altars and shrines and temples, whose gardens were kept forever green by the streams from neighboring hills, whose pathways gleamed with the monuments of the illustrious dead, the work of the most consummate masters that ever gave life to marble." He told of "the votive offerings laid upon the coffins of the dead,—flowers, weapons, precious ornaments, painted vases, wonders of art, which after two thousand years, adorn the museums of Europe;

and of himself, "after an interval of twenty-three centuries, a youthful pilgrim from the world unknown to ancient Greece," visiting that holy ground. He told of how, when funeral obsequies were held in this wonderful Ceramicus, "beneath the over-arching plane trees, upon a lofty stage erected for the purpose, it was ordained that a funeral oration should be pronounced by some citizen of Athens in presence of the assembled multitude."

EULOGIZES THE HEROES OF THE CIVIL WAR

After thus eloquently portraying the beauties of that wonderful cemetery, and recalling

the exercises held over the dead heroes of the Peloponnesian war, who met and triumphantly hurled back the enemy, Mr. Everett even more eloquently pronounced a eulogium upon the dead heroes of the Union Army who so heroically met and overcame the invader, and now slept beneath and about us, whose glories we were assembled to commemorate.

This led the orator to a narrative of the events of the campaign until the clash of arms came upon the field about us, in the centre of which we were, and of the awful struggle and carnage of the three days of conflict.

MR. EVERETT'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

It has been said that, were every official report and every printed word in regard to the battle of Gettysburg, except Mr. Everett's oration, destroyed, in its pages would be preserved to posterity such a lucid and concise account of the great battle as would make every important movement of every command perfectly clear.

Mr. Everett had asked for and received from General Meade and other officers, accounts of the battle. He had read all the official reports that were available, and had himself, after he accepted the

GENERAL GEORGE G. MEADE

invitation to speak, come to Gettysburg and visited every portion of the field, remaining several days; and so perfectly and completely did he picture the onset, the falling back, the desperate assault, and resistance of every corps and division, and almost every brigade of both armies, for every hour and almost every moment of those three days of desperate fighting, that, as he spoke, one could almost see the movements.

SUMMARY OF THE CASUALTIES

In concluding his account of the battle, Mr. Everett gave a summary of the casualties as follows:

"On the Union side there fell, in the whole campaign, of generals killed—Reynolds, Weed, and Zook; wounded—Barlow, Barnes, Butterfield, Doubleday, Gibbon, Graham, Hancock, Sickles, and Warren; while of officers below the rank of general, and men, there were 2,834 killed, 13,709 wounded and 6,643 missing. On the Confederate side there were killed on the field or mortally wounded—Generals Armistead, Barksdale, Garnett, Pender, Pettigrew, and Semms; wounded, Heth, Hood, Johnson, Kemper, Kimball, and Trimble. Of officers below the rank of general, and men, there were

taken prisoners, including the wounded, 13,621—an amount ascertained officially. The wounded in a condition to be removed, and the killed, and the missing (of whom no return has been made), are estimated at 23,000."

The published oration, which appears in the book to which I have already referred, is illustrated with a map of the field. When Mr. Everett spoke, the field itself was before and about him, and his audience and he needed no other map. There is no better guide-book to the battle of Gettysburg than Edward Everett's oration.

MR. EVERETT'S SECOND HOUR

It would be supposed that any orator, after giving such an account of the battle—which was necessarily very extended—in such a presence, with the ablest and most brilliant men of the age about him, with the President of the United States sitting near, waiting to speak—it would be supposed that he would have then drawn his oration to a close. Not so! Mr. Everett was the orator of the day, and he went on for another hour, every hearer interested and absorbed in the sublime sentiments he enunciated, none more so than the President.

THE NORTH NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR

He called to account the "hard-hearted men whose cruel lust of power brought this desolating war upon the land." He showed who were responsible for all this carnage, and blood, and sorrow, and despair. He showed that it all came from envy and ambition, for which there was, and could be, no justification.

He pictured the dire consequences that would have followed had the enemy succeeded in that battle; that it would have resulted in the overthrow of the nation and in blighting the last hope of free government.

ATTEMPTS OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO JUSTIFY THEMSELVES

He referred to the attempt made by those who instigated the war to justify themselves by citing the rebellions of our fathers against George the Third, and of Cromwell against Charles the First, and asked, "What would have been thought by an impartial historian of the American rebellion against George the Third if the colonies had been more than equally represented in parliament, and James Otis, and Patrick Henry, and Washington, and Franklin, and the Adamses, and men of their stamp had for two generations enjoyed the confidence of

the sovereign, and had administered the government of the empire? What would have been thought of the rebellion against Charles the First had Cromwell and the men of his school been his advisors?" And then he showed how these men had, when they precipitated the war, control of both Houses of Congress, and that not one assault had been made upon them and not one right invaded.

He showed, by citing the Constitution, the supremacy given by its framers to the general Government, and how weak and silly was the contention that the general Government was a mere "agency" of sov-

ereign States, and how absurd was the claim of the Confederates of justification for secession when in control of both Houses of Congress, and of everything in their own States, on the state rights theory — rights that had never been invaded nor denied.

MR. EVERETT'S ENDEAVORS TO CONCILIATE THE SOUTH

Knowing as we did his history, how he had always, to his own disadvantage, blighting at times all hopes of political preferment, favored measures to conciliate the South, it was almost pathetic to hear Mr. Everett exclaim: "A sad foreboding of what would ensue if a war should break out between the

North and South has haunted me through life, and led me, perhaps too long, to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were predetermined not to be conciliated."

MR. EVERETT'S ADDRESS CHARACTERIZED

It is not necessary to go further into detail of Mr. Everett's address, a glimpse of which it has been deemed proper to give, in order to place the situation clearly before us. Suffice it to say that very soon after he began to speak he rose to a lofty height of eloquence, which, constantly holding the undivided

and at times almost breathless attention of his audience, he sustained for two hours.

I can give no young man who seeks to perfect himself in literature better advice than that he make a study of that oration.

At the close of Mr. Everett's address a solemn dirge written by Mr. B. B. French, especially for the occasion, was sung by a hundred voices, after which President Lincoln was introduced to the great multitude.

MR. LINCOLN SPEAKS

When the President thus appeared it was the first opportunity the people really had to see him. There was the usual

craning of necks, the usual exclamations of "Down in front!" the usual crowding to get places to see, and much confusion. He waited patiently for the audience to become quiet, and there was absolute silence while he spoke. He began in those high, clarion tones, which the people of Illinois had so often heard, to which he held to the close. His was a voice that, when he made an effort, could reach a great multitude, and he always tried to make every one hear. He held in his left hand two or three pages of manuscript, toward which he glanced but once. He spoke with deliberation, but cannot have continued

more than three or four, some said two, minutes.

A moment's reflection will convince any one that before the great multitude of people, nearly all of whom were standing, could have prepared themselves to listen intelligently—before they had, I may say, become poised, before their thoughts had become sufficiently centred upon the speaker to take up his line of thought and follow him—he had finished and returned to his seat.

PEOPLE DISAPPOINTED IN LINCOLN'S ADDRESS

So short a time was Mr. Lincoln before them that the people could scarcely believe their eyes

when he disappeared from their view. They were almost dazed. They could not possibly, in so short a time, mentally grasp the ideas that were conveyed, nor even their substance. Time and again expressions of disappointment were made to me. Many persons said to me that they would have supposed that on such a great occasion the President would have made a speech. Every one thought, as expressed by Mr. Wills four days later (to which reference has been made), that instead of Mr. Lincoln's delivering an address, he only made a very few "dedicatory remarks."

We on the platform heard

every word. And what did we hear? A dozen commonplace sentences, scarcely one of which contained anything new, anything that when stated was not self-evident.

I am aware, because I noted it at the time, that in the Associated Press report, which appeared in the morning papers, there were the punctuations of "applause," "long continued applause," etc., according to the invariable custom in those days. Except when he concluded, I did not observe it, and at the close the applause was not especially marked. The occasion was too solemn for any kind of boisterous demonstrations.

WARD H. LAMON'S RECOLLECTION OF HOW THE ADDRESS WAS RECEIVED

In his "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," edited by his daughter — a very interesting book — Ward Hill Lamon, Marshal of the District of Columbia (which position, besides the fact of his being a most intimate friend, brought him into constant and close relation with the President), says:

"On the platform from which Mr. Lincoln delivered his address, and only a moment after it was concluded, Mr. Seward turned to Mr. Everett and asked him what he thought of the President's speech. Mr. Ever-

ett replied: 'It is not what I expected from him. I am disappointed.' Then in his turn Mr. Everett asked, 'What do you think of it, Mr. Seward?' The response was, 'He has made a failure, and I am sorry for it. His speech is not equal to him.' Mr. Seward then turned to me and asked, 'Mr. Marshal, what do you think of it?' I answered, 'I am sorry to say that it does not impress me as one of his great speeches.'"

FALSE REPORTS THAT THE AUDIENCE WERE EXCITED

"In the face of these facts," continues Mr. Lamon, "it has been repeatedly published that this speech was received by the

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD

audience with loud demonstrations of approval; that amid the tears, sobs, and cheers it produced in the excited throng, the orator of the day, Mr. Everett, turned to Mr. Lincoln, grasped his hand, and exclaimed, 'I congratulate you on your success!' adding in a transport of heated enthusiasm, 'Ah, Mr. President, how gladly would I give my hundred pages to be the author of your twenty lines!'

"As a matter of fact," Mr. Lamon goes on to say, "the silence during the delivery of the speech, and the lack of hearty demonstrations of approval immediately after its close, were taken by Mr. Lincoln as certain

proof that it was not well received. In that opinion we all shared. If any person then present saw, or thought he saw, the marvellous beauties of that wonderful speech, as intelligent men in all lands now see them, his superabundant caution closed his lips and stayed his pen."

WHY THE AUDIENCE WAS NOT IMPRESSED

In concluding his comments upon Mr. Lincoln's address, Mr. Nicolay, in his "Century" article to which reference has been made, says, "They [the hearers] were therefore totally unprepared for what they heard, and could not immediately re-

alize that his words, and not those of the carefully selected orator, were to carry the concentrated thought of the occasion like a trumpet peal to the farthest posterity."

My own recollection, which is more clear as to occurrences in those troublous times, especially those upon that occasion, the responsibilities of which devolved in a great degree upon a board of which I was a member, coincides with that of Mr. Lamon and Mr. Nicolay. It is true, as Mr. Nicolay says, the hearers were totally unprepared for what they heard, and could not immediately realize how able and

far-reaching was Mr. Lincoln's address. My recollection also confirms that of Mr. Lamon, that no one there present saw the marvellous beauties of that wonderful speech. I did not hear the expressions of Mr. Seward and Mr. Everett in regard to it, as my seat was with the members of our Commission, but from the expressions of opinion I did hear, I have no doubt that they were made.

I heard every word and every articulation of Mr. Lincoln, and had no realization that he did anything more than make "a few dedicatory remarks." His expressions were so plain and homely, without any attempt at

rhetorical periods, and his statements were so axiomatic, and, I may say, matter of fact, and so simple, that I had no idea that as an address it was anything more than ordinary.

MR. LINCOLN'S MANNER AND BEARING

I was very much struck, many times as I had heard him, by the appearance of Mr. Lincoln when he arose and stood before the audience. It seemed to me that I had never seen any other human being who was so stately, and, I may say, majestic, and yet benignant. His features had a sad, mournful, almost haggard, and still hopeful expression. Every one was

impressed with his sincerity and earnestness.

ANALYSIS OF LINCOLN'S ADDRESS

Short as is Mr. Lincoln's Gettysburg address, it contains all the elements of an elaborate and finished oration,—exordium, argument, climax, and peroration. While each of these divisions is far more extended in Mr. Everett's oration, they are not more marked than in Mr. Lincoln's.

In his exordium, consisting of five simple sentences, each one of which recalls a fact apparent to every hearer, he lays foundations for the superstructure upon which he builds, broad and deep.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this."

After thus laying the founda-

tion, he states the argument:

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on."

And, to make the argument stronger, to clinch it, as we would say, he repeats, "It is rather for us to be dedicated here to

the great task remaining before us, — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

And then follows the climax: "That we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain."

And then the peroration: "That the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

I want to say in passing that there was one sentence that did deeply affect me — the

only one in which the President manifested emotion. With the close of that sentence his lips quivered, and there was a tremor in his voice which I can never forget. I recall it whenever I consider the address. The sentence was, "The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."

LINCOLN'S CHOICE OF WORDS

A careful analysis shows that Lincoln's Gettysburg address contains thirty-two words of Latin origin which with repetitions of the same word, or other forms of the same word, make forty-six Latin de-

rivatives, all told. There are two hundred and sixty-seven words in the address, leaving the balance, two hundred and twenty-one, Anglo-Saxon.

That is, one-fifth or twenty per cent are Latin words, while four-fifths or eighty per cent are Anglo-Saxon.

"OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE"

The phrase "of the people, by the people, and for the people" was not original with Mr. Lincoln. There was considerable comment at the time upon his using it, which went so far that it was insinuated that he was guilty of wilful plagiarism — that he took it from Webster's

reply to Hayne. The matter was thoroughly investigated by Lamon, Nicolay, and others, and it was found that the phrase had been so often used as to have become common property. It appears substantially as Mr. Lincoln used it in Webster's reply to Hayne, 1830, in a work by James Douglas, in 1825, and in the Rhetorical Reader by James Porter in 1830. The phrase was used by Theodore Parker in an anti-slavery convention at Boston, May, 1850, and substantially the same phrase was used by Joel Parker in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853. Long be-

JOHN G. NICOLAY

fore Mr. Lincoln used the phrase, it was used in other languages. The first appearance of it, so far as it has been possible to ascertain, was in the preface to the old Wickliffe Bible, translated before 1384, the year in which that bright "morning star of the Reformation" died. It is there declared that, "this Bible is for the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

WHEN AND HOW LINCOLN'S ADDRESS BEGAN TO BE APPRECIATED

On the next day after it was delivered, November 20, the address appeared in full, as

has been said, in every leading newspaper of the United States. Even then, those who in a high degree appreciated it were comparatively few. Some of us who had heard it formed, as we deliberately read it, a very different idea of it from that we had when it was delivered.

We had supposed and expected that the President would, in what he said, simply dedicate that ground to the sacred purpose for which it had been set apart.

We found that the portals of the heart of the great President were opened to such a degree that all the people could see and feel its pulsations and ap-

preciate the intensity of his emotions, and the depths of his feeling, and gain a conception of the weight of the awful responsibilities that were upon him, which he realized as did no other human being.

As we read, it gradually dawned upon us that the chief executive of the great nation had solemnly dedicated those who heard him, and not merely those who heard him, but all his people, to the cause for which the martyr heroes about him died, and that this was the underlying thought and object of his address. Besides this, we saw that the attention of the country had been drawn in

the most striking manner to the foundation of the nation, and how and when and why it was established, and to the sublime purpose of our fathers in bringing it forth upon this continent. The country was made to see that the great Civil War, still going on, was waged for the purpose of testing whether not only that nation, but "whether any nation so conceived and so dedicated, could long endure," and that it was for us to be dedicated to the work remaining to be done. This central thought was in a few terse sentences so engraved upon the hearts of all that it could not be effaced; and, after all this, the

splendors, and glories, and worth to the people at large, and the peril, of that nation and of all free government were held up and depicted before us by the closing sentence, "that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

MR. EVERETT'S TESTIMONY

As was the case with others, Mr. Everett, when he read the address, began to realize (not so fully as afterwards) something of its merits. On the following day, in a note to the President, mostly about other matters, he said:

"Permit me also to express my great admiration of the

thought expressed by you with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came so near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

TESTIMONY OF TRANSATLANTIC WRITERS

But even then, while our people began to appreciate in some degree the high character of the address, we did not realize how sublime it really was. Not until it had been read and commented upon on the other side of the Atlantic did we place it in our own

minds among the masterpieces. I recollect distinctly how I was impressed upon seeing a quotation from the "Edinburgh Review," stating that no other address, except that of Pericles made in eulogy of the heroes of the Peloponnesian war, could begin to compare with it. The London "Spectator," the "Saturday Review" and several other English periodicals spoke of it in the highest terms of commendation.

These commendations, in some degree, opened our eyes to its merits.

In recalling these eulogies of the address, and the expressions of appreciation of its author

which appeared in foreign prints, I am reminded of the lines,—

A man in whom his neighbors see
One like themselves of common mould,
May, to the thoughtful stranger, be
Among the great and wise enrolled.
In Vishna, clowns a shepherd saw—
Gods viewed the Lord of All with awe.

CONCLUSION

In human achievement that which is greatest in proportions is not always the most sublime. A traveller who had visited the mighty structures along the Nile—the pyramids, the temples, the palaces, the tombs, which surpass in grandeur any

others that have, so far as we know, in all the ages been reared, at last found himself in a little city of southern Europe, standing upon an eminence before a structure so limited in extent and amplitude as not to compare in these regards with the mighty edifices whose grandeur had so filled his mind with wonder and awakened in his bosom emotions that overwhelmed him. He was standing upon the Acropolis at Athens and contemplating the Parthenon. In his travels and study he had gained sufficient knowledge of architecture to be a *connoisseur*. As he made a more careful examination and

study of the wonderful temple, its splendors and sublimity gradually dawned upon him. He found that in every element of its construction, in form, in grace, in beauty and strength and character, and in the nobility and grandeur of all its appointments, it far surpassed everything he had hitherto seen, every other architectural achievement upon the face of the earth. In this conclusion he was and is confirmed by the general concensus of opinion of the world.

Philosophers and sages, men of literary culture, who have explored the labyrinths, stood upon the heights and basked in

the glories of the sublime creations of Demosthenes and Pericles and Cicero, of Burke and Pitt and Brougham, of Webster and Sumner and Everett, and in the elaborate and finished triumphs in oratory of all the ages, are moved with similar emotions to those of this traveller in contemplating Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. By universal consent it has become the Parthenon of oratorical creation.

In the region round about Athens, marble and cement and clay and everything necessary to the construction of an edifice are as abundant and cheap as the sods upon the prairie.

To those commonplace materials the inspired architect gave form and beauty and strength and life. Out of a few simple, plain, commonplace sentences familiar to all, President Lincoln constructed an oration that will be the wonder and admiration of the world for all time — the crowning triumph of literary achievement.

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

A Reverie

ON a bright November afternoon of long ago, when the autumn leaves were tinged with a thousand hues of beauty, upon an eminence in the midst of a great plain bounded by lofty mountains, I saw a vast concourse of men and women. I saw among them illustrious warriors, gifted poets, and profound statesmen. I saw ambassadors of mighty

empires, governors of great commonwealths, ministers of cabinets, men of high position and power. I saw above their heads, upon every hand, a starry banner, drooping under the weight of sombre drapery. I saw men and women standing among new-made graves, overwhelmed with grief which they vainly endeavored to conceal. I knew that I was in the midst of a people bowing under great affliction, of a land stricken with sorrow. I knew

that the tide of destruction and death had not ceased to ebb and flow, but that at that moment the fate of my country was trembling in the balance, her only hope in the fortitude and valor of her sons, who were baring their breasts to storms of shot and shell only a few miles away.

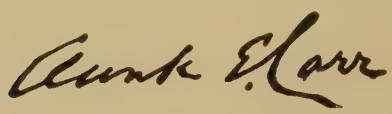
I saw standing in the midst of that mighty assembly a man of majestic yet benignant mien, of features worn and haggard, but beaming with purity, with

patriotism, and with hope. Every eye was directed towards him, and, as men looked into his calm, sad, earnest face, they recognized the great President, the foremost man of the world, not only in position and power but in all the noblest attributes of humanity. When he essayed to speak, such solemn silence reigned as when, within consecrated walls, men and women feel themselves in the presence of Deity. Each sentence, slowly and earnestly

pronounced, as its full import was apprehended, sank into every patriotic heart, gave a strange lustre to every face, and nerved every arm. In those utterances, the abstract, the condensation, the summing up of American patriotism, were contained the hopes, the aspirations, the stern resolves, the consecration upon the altar of humanity, of a great people.

From the hour of that solemn dedication the final triumph of the loyal hosts was assured.

As the Christian day by day voices the sacred prayer given him by his Savior, so the American Patriot will continue to cherish those sublime sentiments and inspired words. While the Republic lives he will continue to repeat them, and while, realizing all their solemn significance, he continues to repeat them, *the Republic will live.*



APPENDIX

MEMBERS OF THE ORIGINAL COMMISSION

THE following were the original Commissioners of the several States, comprising the first Board.

B. W. Norris, Esq., Maine.
Hon. Ira Perley, (Chief Justice), New Hampshire.
His Excellency, Paul Dillingham, Governor of Vermont.
Henry Edwards, Esq., Massachusetts.
Hon. John R. Bartlett, Secretary of State, Rhode Island.
Alfred Coit, Esq., Connecticut.
Edward Cooper, Esq., New York.
Levi Scoby, Esq., New Jersey.
Hon. David Wills, Pennsylvania.
John R. Lattimer, Esq., Delaware.
Hon. Chester W. Hubbard, M. C., West Virginia.
Benjamin Deford, Esq., Maryland.
Col. Gordon Lofland, Ohio.

John G. Stephenson, Esq., Indiana
Col. Clark E. Carr, Illinois.
Hon. T. White Ferry, U. S. Senator, Michigan.
Hon. W. Y. Selleck, Wisconsin.
Hon. Alex. Ramsey, U. S. Senator, Minnesota.

As vacancies occurred in the Board they were filled by appointment from the several states.

PROGRAMME OF ARRANGEMENTS AND ORDER OF EXERCISES FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG, ON THE 19TH OF NOVEMBER, 1863.

The military will form in Gettysburg at 9 o'clock a. m., on Carlisle street, north of the square, its right resting on the square, opposite McClellan's Hotel, under the direction of Major General Couch.

The State Marshals and Chief Marshal's aids will assemble in the public square at the same hour.

All civic bodies except the citizens of States will assemble, according to the foregoing printed programme, on York street at the same hour.

The delegation of Pennsylvania citizens will form on Chambersburg street, its right resting on the square, and the other citizen delegations, in

their order, will form on the same street in rear of the Pennsylvania delegation.

The Marshals of the States are charged with the duty of forming their several delegations so that they will assume their appropriate positions when the main procession moves.

The head of the column will move at precisely 10 o'clock a. m.

The route will be up Baltimore street to the Emmittsburg road; thence to the junction of the Taneytown road; thence, by the latter road, to the Cemetery, where the military will form in line, as the General in command may order, for the purpose of saluting the President of the United States.

The military will then close up, and occupy the space on the left of the stand.

The civic procession will advance and occupy the area in front of the stand, the military leaving sufficient space between them and the line of graves for the civic procession to pass.

The ladies will occupy the right of the stand, and it is desirable that they be upon the ground as early as ten o'clock a. m.

The exercises will take place as soon as the military and civic bodies are in position, as follows:

MUSIC
PRAYER
MUSIC
ORATION
MUSIC
DEDICATORY REMARKS
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES
DIRGE
BENEDICTION

After the benediction the procession will be dismissed, and the State Marshals and special aids to the Chief Marshal will form on Baltimore street, and return to the Court House in Gettysburg, where a meeting of the marshals will be held.

An appropriate salute will be fired in Gettysburg on the day of the celebration, under the direction of Maj. Gen. Couch.

WARD H. LAMON,
Marshal-in-Chief.

[NOTE: Distributed on the morning of the Dedicatory Exercises.]

ORDER OF PROCESSION FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG, PA., ON THE 19TH OF NOVEMBER, 1863.

Military, under command of Major-General Couch

Major-General Meade and Staff, and the officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac

Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps of the United States

Aids Chief Marshal Aids

PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES

Members of the Cabinet

Assistant Secretaries of the Several Executive Departments

General-in-Chief of the Army, and Staff

Lieutenant-General Scott and Rear-Admiral Stewart

Judges of the U. S. Supreme Court

Hon. Edward Everett, Orator of the day, and the Chaplain

Governors of the States, and their Staffs

Commissioners of the States on the Inauguration of the Cemetery

Bearers with the Flags of the States

Vice-President of the United States and Speaker of the House of Representatives

Members of the two Houses of Congress

Officers of the two Houses of Congress

Mayors of Cities

Gettysburg Committee of Arrangements

Officers and members of the United States Sanitary Commission

Committees of Different Religious Bodies

U. S. Military Telegraphic Corps

Officers and Representatives of Adams Express Company

Officers of Different Telegraph Companies

Hospital Corps of the Army

Soldiers' Relief Associations

Knights Templar

Masonic Fraternity

Independent Order of Odd Fellows

Other Benevolent Associations

Literary, Scientific, and Industrial Associations

The Press

Officers and members of Loyal Leagues

Fire Companies

Citizens of the State of Pennsylvania

Citizens of other States

Citizens of the District of Columbia

Citizens of the several Territories

[NOTE: Distributed on the morning of the Dedicatory Exercises.]

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, PRECISELY AS IT FELL FROM HIS LIPS; TAKEN DOWN BY A SHORTHAND REPORTER, AND TELEGRAPHED. IT APPEARED IN THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS OF THE COUNTRY ON THE FOLLOWING MORNING.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new Nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their

lives that that Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead

shall not have died in vain; that the Nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Y-H-2-11-1919
Y-H-2-7-1924
Y-H-2-15-1924
Y-H-1-31-192
Y-H-2-9-192
Y-H-2-7-1927
Y-H-2-10-1927
Y-H-2-11-1931

INDEX

INDEX

Address, text of, 1-4; preparation of, 26-31; three versions of, 31-35; delivery of, 57-60, 67, 72; tardy appreciation of, 61-67; analysis of, 68-75; publication and world-wide appreciation of, 75-81.

Appropriations by States for National Cemetery, 14.

Armistead, General, 48.

Barksdale, General, 48.

Barlow, General, 48.

Barnes, General, 48.

Bartlett, John R., of Rhode Island, Commissioner, 12, 95.

Battle of Gettysburg, *see under* Gettysburg.

Board of Commissioners of The Soldiers' National Cemetery, incorporation and membership of, 11-13; invitations to dedication issued by, 20, 21; original members, 95, 96.

Butterfield, General, 48.

Cemetery Hill, Gettysburg, 8-10.

Cemetery, The Soldiers' National, Gettysburg, 8-17; arrangement of grounds for dedication of, 16; dates fixed upon, 18, 19; invitations issued to, 20; attendance upon, 35, 36; procession to, 36-38, 101-103; order of exercises, 40, 56, 97-100.

INDEX

Century Magazine, John G. Nicolay's article in, quoted, 27, 64.
Church, Hon. William L., 7, 11.
Coit, Alfred, of Connecticut, Commissioner, 95.
Commission in charge of the National Cemetery, *see* Board of Commissioners.
Cooper, Edward, of New York, Commissioner, 95.
Curtin, Hon. Andrew G., War Governor of Pennsylvania, 8, 10.
Dedication of National Cemetery, *see under* Cemetery.
Deford, Benjamin, of Maryland, Commissioner, 95.
Dillingham, Governor Paul, of Vermont, Commissioner, 95.
Doubleday, General, 48.
Edinburgh Review, its comment on address, 81.
Edwards, Henry, of Massachusetts, Commissioner, 95.
Everett, Hon. Edward, and his oration at dedication, 18, 19, 24, 40-56, 61-63, 68, 79, 80.
Ferry, T. White, of Michigan, Commissioner, 96.
French, B. B., author of dirge sung at dedication, 56.
Gamble, Colonel William, 7.
Garnett, General, 48.

INDEX

Gettysburg, battle of, sketch of, 5-7, 9; number that fell in, 17; as described by Hon. Edward Everett, 45-49.
Gibbon, General, 48.
Government system of soldiers' national cemeteries, 13.
Graham, General, 48.
Graves in National Cemetery, how marked and their number, 16, 17.
Hancock, General, 48.
Hay, John, 25.
Heth, General, 48.
Hill, General A. P., 7.
Hood, General, 48.
Hubbard, Chester W., of West Virginia, Commissioner, 95.
Illinois, soldiers in battle of Gettysburg, 6, 7, 14; appropriation for National Cemetery, 14; place in National Cemetery, 16.
Johnson, General, 48.
Kemper, General, 48.
Kimball, General, 48.
Lamon, Hon. Ward H., 38, 61-63, 65, 66, 74.
Lattimer, John R., of Delaware, Commissioner, 95.
Lee, General Robert E., 5.
Lincoln, President Abraham, invited to be present at dedication, 19, 21; asked to speak, 21-24; arrival at Gettysburg, 25, 26;

preparation of address, 26-31; rode on horseback to speakers' stand, 37-39; delivery of address, 57-60, 67, 72.
"Lincoln, Recollections of Abraham," by Ward H. Lamon, 61.
"Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," by John G. Nicolay, 26, 31, 64.
Lofland, Colonel Gordon, of Ohio, Commissioner, 95
Louisville Commercial, interview published in, 28.
Meade, General George G., 6, 19, 41, 46.
Monument in National Cemetery, 15.
Nicolay, John G., 25-33, 64, 65, 74.
Norris, B. W., of Maine, Commissioner, 95.
Oglesby, Governor Richard J., 12.
Pender, General, 48.
Pennsylvania Legislature incorporated National Cemetery, 11.
"People, of the, by the people, and for the people," use of phrase, 73-75.
Perley, Ira, of New Hampshire, Commissioner, 95.
Pettigrew, General, 48.
Plan of National Cemetery, 15, 16.
Ramsey, Alex., of Minnesota, Commissioner, 96.
"Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," by Ward H. Lamon, 61.

INDEX

Reynolds, General, 48.
Saturday Review's comment on address, 81.
Scoby, Levi, of New Jersey, Commissioner, 95.
Scott, General Winfield, 20, 41.
Second Inaugural Address, President Lincoln's, 24.
Selleck, W. Y., of Wisconsin, Commissioner, 96.
Semms, General, 48.
Seward, Secretary, 25, 26, 61, 62, 66.
Sickles, General, 48.
Soldiers' national cemeteries, 13.
Soldiers' National Cemetery, *see under* Cemetery.
"Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, The," volume published by Commissioners, 35, 49.
Spectator's comment on address, 81.
Speed, Hon. James, 28.
Stephenson, John G., of Indiana, Commissioner, 96.
Stewart, Admiral Charles, 20.
Stockton, Rev. Dr., 40.
Tardy appreciation of address, *see under* Address.
Trimble, General, 48.
Versions, three, of the address, 31-35.
Warren, General, 48.
Weed, General, 48.

INDEX

Wills, Hon. David, 8-10, 12, 21, 24, 25, 33, 34, 59, 95.
Yates, Hon. Richard, War Governor of Illinois, 11, 12
Zook, General, 48.

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